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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1b,
Sociological Background

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. INTRODUCTION

635 The Southwest China Administrative Region maintained by the Communist Government from 1949 to the abolition of the regional administration system in late 1954 comprises a frontier territory which has never been completely integrated into the Chinese Empire. Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, which make up the bulk of the region, often have been under indirect control of the unified Chinese Empire since its beginning in 221 B.C., but some areas of these provinces have never been completely subject to the central authority up to the present day. The Red Basin surrounding the Chengtu Plain of Szechwan is the only ancient center of Chinese civilization in the three provinces. What was until 1955 the province'

635 of Sikang, which rounded out the western part of the Southwest Region, began to be developed as a part of the frontier colonial territory during the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912).

635 669 563 When the Red Army overran the Southwest Region in 1949, the Communists fell heir to the problems the territory has posed to every governing authority in China. As had often happened in the past, the mountainous terrain of the Southwest Region was the last refuge of armed resistance to the new regime. According to the Communists, Kweichow was not completely in their hands until January 1951,[1] and more "bandits" (a common Communist term for its armed enemies) were found in the Southwest Region than in any other region.[2] A more difficult and longer-term problem was that of the tribal people who had never been assimilated into Chinese culture. Constituting about 20 per cent of the region's population, the autochthonous people in many areas of the Southwest were still organized under their own tribal laws and respected the authority only of their own tribal chiefs.

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1. Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 205, pp. 12-13. Hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. Unless specifically attributed to the American editors, citations from this source refer to literal translations from Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

2. Ibid., 212, p. 24.

175 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the out-
636 break of the war of resistance against Japan
563 in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 A chain of circumstances leading to the
635 establishment of Sikang as a separate province
563 within the Chinese administrative system was
669 initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904. The British move was undertaken to offset Russian [illegible] into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

25. Ibid., pp. 237-38.

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Tibet asserted its independence during the Chinese revolutionary convulsions of 1912, and with British help maintained a disputed sovereignty until the Communists conquered the territory in 1951. No Chinese government accepted Tibet independence, and intermittent fighting between Tibetan and Szechwan troops continued until 1928. In that year the Nationalist Government was able to assert control over eastern Tibet. That area with western Szechwan was then incorporated into the province of Sikang as part of the Chinese administrative system.[26]

Although the Ch'ing and the Nationalist government policy relieved the t'u-ssu of their legal title to rule, they continued to exercise real command in most of Sikang up to the present time. The last large-scale attempt at revolt by the t'u-ssu occurred in the early nineteen thirties as part of what is known as the Nona Rebellion.[27] The revolt was touched off when Nona, a member of the Commission for the Organization of Sikang Province and high-ranking tribal chieftain, staged an insurrection after the rejection of his recommendation that the t'u-ssu system be restored. His defection led to general unrest among the tribal leaders.

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26. H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 558-62.

27. Wiens, op. cit., p. 246.

175 635 563 669 The revolt was still in progress when the Communists passed through the Southwest Region on their "Long March." Approaching northwestern Szechwan from Yunnan by way of what was then the border area between Szechwan and Sikang, the Communists claim to have had considerable success in winning the friendship of the Lolo (Yi) people.[28] When the Tibetan Autonomous District of Sikang was organized in November 1950, the Communist press reported that fifteen years earlier in the same area the Communists on the Long March had helped the local leaders establish a Tibetan People's Government or Pu-pa.[29] However, a non-Communist study asserts that the t'u-ssu of Szechwan and Sikang feared the Communists more than the Kuomintang and that many of the local leaders were wiped out in desperately resisting the Red Army. This view agrees with the account of the Communists concerning their bitter experiences among the Mantzu tribes of the Lolo people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan and northeastern Sikang during the second stage of the Long March from the Sung-p'an area of Szechwan to Yenan in Shensi.[30]

C. Separatism and Conservatism

635 669 195 The rugged terrain of the Southwest Region which had kept it isolated and backward during the

28. See Communist account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp.182-84.

29. S.C.M.P., 39, p. 42.

30. Compare Wiens, op.cit., pp.246-47;and Snow, op. cit., pp. 192-94.

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imperial era served to perpetuate these conditions during the Republican period that followed. What part the region played in the revolutionary ferment that marked much of China south of the Yangtze River from 1911 to 1928 was characterized by greedy provincialism and military expediency rather than by national aspiration and political idealism.

An immediate and direct cause of the revolution that overthrew the imperial regime was the outbreak in Szechwan during September 1911 of strikes and violence against the central government when it attempted to take over from the province the financing and construction of the Hankow-Szechwan Railway. However, the Chinese do not mark this event as the start of the 1911 Revolution, because the Szechwan outburst was not motivated by anti-dynastic feeling. Rather, the resistance was an outgrowth of jealous provincialism and, apparently, the hope of local investors in the mismanaged and corrupt provincial venture into railway building that the central government could be coerced into replacing their financial losses.[31] When the dynasty showed hesitancy in dealing with the Szechwan outbreak, revolutionary politicians elsewhere in China made another and successful bid, after more than a decade of abortive attempts, to establish republican government in China. The premature explosion of a bomb on October 10, 1911 at the Hankow (Hupeh) headquarters

31. On the Szechwan outbreak see Harley F. MacNair, China in Revolution; An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 28-29.

175 669 [66] Nationalist Government was scarcely felt in the region. Petty despots forced crop lands to be diverted to the cultivation of opium poppies, levied and collected taxes for decades still to come, and enriched themselves in every way possible at the expense of the lives and property of the people.

175 635 In the 1930's, both Yunnan and Szechwan were brought largely under the control of warlords native to the respective provinces they dominated -- Lung Yün in Yunnan and Liu Hsiang in Szechwan. The foremost native of Kweichow was likewise a military man, Ho Ying-ch'in, who had a major part in running the wartime Chinese army as one of Chiang Kai-shek's most powerful military deputies and still retains some influence in military and civilian affairs on Formosa. Liu Hsiang died as the Nationalist Government removed its capital to Chungking in 1938 and brought new influences to bear in Szechwan. Although there was no love lost between Generalissimo Chiang and Lung Yün, the latter held a major share of his original power in Yunnan throughout the war of resistance against Japan. Two months after V. J-Day, Chiang occupied the warlord's capital of Kunming and incorporated Lung and his army into the national military force. In this capacity, he led his troops into Indo-China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces there in 1945 and, later, against the Red Army. While pitted against the Communist forces, he fled China to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to the Mainland to serve in the New regime in Southwest China.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c,
Sociological Background

POPULATION

I. DISTRIBUTION, DENSITY, AND GROWTH

A. Distribution

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161 The 1953 nationwide census yielded a set of population figures by province. At the time the census figures were being compiled, the Southwest China Region comprised the four provinces of Szechwan, Sikang, Yunnan, and Kweichow. Sikang Province in 1953, however, was not the same as Sikang in the 1940's. Before 1953, Sikiang had been divided in two; only the eastern half retained the name of Sikang Province; the western half was renamed Ch'ang-tu District. Thus the population figure announced in the official communique actually reflected only a part of the pre-Communist province of Sikang. When the results were announced, the Bureau of Census grouped the Ch'ang-tu District population with that of Tibet. On July 30, 1955, the First People's Congress in Peking passed a resolution to abolish the province of Sikang and incorporate its territory into Szechwan Province.[1] This latest move does not

1. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Aug. 3, 1955, p. 1.

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635 161 affect the figure of the total population in the Southwest China Region, because Sikang and Szechwan provinces had been included in the 1953 census figure for this region; nevertheless, it changes the distribution according to the political subdivisions of Southwest China as follows:

161 Table 1. Population Distribution in Southwest China *

Kweichow Province	15,037,310
Szechwan Province	65,685,063
Yunnan Province	17,472,737
Regional Total	98,195,110

*Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 1; Sikang population is included in Szechwan.

Among all the regions of China, this region ranks third in population and fourth in size of area.

161 659 The accuracy of the figures in Table 1 is, of course, still open to question. Doubt may easily be cast upon these figures on the basis of one or both of the following facts: (1) The 1953 census-taking was not thorough; in certain areas where direct counting of noses was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates)

the latter is now a part of the province of Szechwan. Below the provincial level, there are 21 autonomous counties, 15 autonomous sections below the county level and 49 autonomous hsiang. In addition, 11 administrative district, 53 county, 27 section, and 72 hsiang, coalition governments representing different nationalities have been formed.[7] The Communist Regime attached special importance to winning over the national minorities in order to counteract Kuomintang efforts at infiltration.

For a short period the Chinese Communists tried a system of Regional Governments called "The Military and Political Committees of the Greater Areas" for the regions of China proper; and in Manchuria "The People's Government of the Northeast." The Regional Governments were patterned after the Union Republics of the USSR. However, after a two-year period of experiment they were found unsatisfactory and condemned by Liu Shao-ch'i as "Independent Kingdoms." Chou En-lai's Government Administration Council then passed a resolution in November 1952 that the Committee of the region should change its name from the Military and Political Committee to the Administrative Committee, with the status of an agent of the Central Government. After the nature and function of the Administrative Committee was changed into that of an agent of the Central Government, the members of the same committee were no more appointed by the Central People's Government, that is, Mao Tse-tung's Council, but were recommended by the Government Administration Council -- Chou En-lai. Though the Political-Legal Commission, Financial-Economical Com-

[7. on following page]

635 mission, Cultural-Educational Commission and the People's Control Commission within the Committee of the Greater Area were kept intact, some of the departments of the same Committee became subordinate to the ministries of the Central People's Government.

The change from Military and Political Committee to Administrative Committee indicates that China, which has been a unitary state for two thousand years, cannot be transformed into a federal state following the pattern of Soviet Russia.

The organization and structure of the Administrative Committee of the Region is given as follows:

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7. [continued from previous page] Wang Wei-chou's report on the national minorities, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily] , Peking, February 11, 1952.

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GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL OF PEKING

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REGION

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Political-Legal Commission	Financial-Economic Commission	Cultural-Educational Commission	People's Control Comm.

THE PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE

1. Department of Civil Affairs
2. Dept. of Public Security
3. Dept. of National Minorities
4. Dept. of Overseas Chinese
5. Dept. of Finance
6. Dept. of People's Provincial Bank
7. Dept. of Industry and Commerce
8. Dept. of Industries
9. Dept. of Transportation
10. Dept. of Post and Telegraph
11. Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry
12. Dept. of Labor
13. Dept. of Education
14. Dept. of Culture
15. Dept. of Health
16. Dept. of Information & Publication
17. Dept. of Committee for Prevention of Illiteracy

635 All these Departments were subordinated in three ways: (1) to the Administrative Committee of the Region through its commissions, (2) to the Provincial People's Government, (3) to the appropriate ministries of the Central Government. Such a complex system of subordination and control tends to slow down administration. More important, too much power was given to the Administrative Committee and in some areas this power was monopolized by leading regional figures. The system was again revised and then finally abolished on June 14, 1954.

On the provincial level, personnel were formerly appointed by the recommendation of the Regional Committee to the Peking Government. Later when the provincial Representatives' Conference was called into existence, the right of electing the governors of the provinces was transferred to the Conference. In reality the choice of a provincial governor was in the hands of the Communist Party and the Central regime, although on the surface it appeared that he was elected by the Representatives' Conference.

The relation between the provincial governor and the Provincial People's Congress (until 1954 called the Provincial Representatives) can be best explained by the actual working of these two branches. With the promulgation of the Constitution in September 1954, the Provincial People's Congress assumed new functions.

The Szechwan Provincial People's Congress was convened for the first time in the period

635 August 1-8, 1955 and was attended by 650 members consisting of Chinese, Tibetans, Chuangs, Yi's and Miaos. Li Ching-ch'üan, Chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Government, made a report on the work of the past two years and the important tasks to be done in the coming winter and spring. He referred to improvements in agriculture and industry, giving the following figures for 1952 as 100:

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Industries	1953.....	199.11
	1954.....	307.9 estimated
Agriculture	1953.....	86 %
	1954.....	6 %

There were 34 national and local factories and mines in the region, 604 agricultural co-operatives and 990,000 mutual-aid teams. In the same report he claimed that the people of Szechwan supported the building of the railroads from Chungking to Chengtu and from Chengtu to Pao-chi, and also the surveying of oil fields in Szechwan.

635 With regard to the tasks of the coming winter and spring, he asked the people of Szechwan to try to reach the goal for the second year of the five-year plan. Li's report was passed. Another report on the Constitutional draft was made by Governor Li. After a serious debate, it was given a unanimous support. Finally, 87 delegates to the National Congress were elected with Chu Teh at the head of the list.[8]

8. Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, August 10, 1952.

635 In Yunnan, the first Provincial People's Congress met from August 6-12, 1954. It was attended by 376 members, who represented a population of 17,000,000, which, besides Chinese, is composed of 28 national minorities. The delegates of the Yunnan People's Congress were elected by 126 units. Out of the 17,000,000 population, 6,000,000 belong to the minorities. The delegates from them make up 41.1 per cent of all the delegates sent to the National Congress. Women delegates took up 15 per cent.

Kuo-ying Ch'iu, vice-chairman of the Yunnan Government, gave a report on the administration of Yunnan which was passed and ratified. A debate on the constitutional draft, which was given full support, followed. The Congress passed a resolution in support of the policy of liberating Formosa. Finally the election of 45 delegates to the National Congress took place -- an election in which each of the 14 minority groups had a share.[9]

III. THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

631 Two years before the promulgation of the Constitution, the Chinese Communist Party decided that China should be a unitary state, with

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9. Enlightenment Daily, August 14, 1954.

631 each province standing under the direct control of the central government. In the Constitution the structure of provincial local units was clearly defined on the basis of democratic centralism. Since the membership in the National Congress was made up of delegates elected by the provinces, the special municipalities, the military forces, the overseas Chinese, each provincial congress became a part of the electoral machinery of the National Congress. But since the executive-administrative and the legislative organs on a higher level have the power to cancel or revise inappropriate resolutions of corresponding organs on a lower level, the administrative and legislative organs in a province, a county, or a hsiang are not really independent, nor do they have any power on the basis of a charter or a special grant.

A. The Provincial Government

635 The promulgation of the New Constitution has placed the Provincial Governments on a new basis. On the one hand, each province regains its traditional status of an administrative district under the supervision of the Central Government, while, on the other hand, there is a change from tradition insofar as the members of the Provincial Government are elected and a Provincial People's Congress has a share in the deliberative functions. The avoidance of the term "legislative" in the section on Provincial Government suggests that the People's Congress was limited to the function

635 of deliberation and is not entitled to hold the corresponding executive organs accountable. It can be said that each province, according to the Communist Constitution Article 53, is a modified administrative district subject to control from above but empowered to pass budget, enforce laws and safeguard the rights of citzens. Though the Provincial Government is elected and a Provincial People's Congress sits next to it, it does not have the reserved powers of a state under the American Constitution, nor the powers granted by special charter to a British borough. It is stipulated that the Provincial Government stands under the leadership of the Central Government, and that the Provincial People's Congress can only pass resolutions within the framework of the laws which govern it.

631 Similarly, autonomous regions and municipalities are administrative districts directly under the central government. Counties and Hsiang (villages) are also an administrative district, though they are not considered as being directly under the authority of the Central Government.

635 The executive, deliberative, and judicial branches of the Provincial Government are constituted as follows:

The Provincial Executive consists of one governor, a number of deputy-governors, and twenty-five to fifty-five members of the Provincial People's Council. The governor, the deputy-governors, and the members of the Provincial

635 Council are elected by the Provincial People's Congress, while the Commissoners of the Civil Affairs, Public Security, Finance, Grain, and other twelve departments are appointed by the Central Government. The fact that the Commissioners are appointed confirms the view that the provincial administration is not a kind of self-government, but stands under the centralized control of the Peking Government.

The Provincial People's Congress according to the Constitution has the following powers:

(1) To ensure observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and the resolutions of the National People's Congress; (2) to adopt and promulgate resolutions within the limits of their functions and powers; (3) to plan economic construction, cultural construction, public works, pension work and relief work; (4) to consider and approve budgets and financial statements; (5) to elect members of the Provincial People's Council; (6) to elect presidents of the Provincial People's Courts and of the intermediate People's Courts; (7) to elect deputies to the National People's Congress of the next higher level; (8) to hear and examine the work reports of the Provincial People's Councils and the Provincial People's Courts; (9) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's Congresses and People's Councils on the county level; (10) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (11) to ensure the equal rights of the national minorities; (12) to recall the members of the Provincial People's

635 Council and its president.

From this list the powers of the Provincial People's Congress are enumerated. It should be noted, however, that while the Provincial People's Congress has a number of powers over organs on the provincial and lower levels, it is itself under the ultimate control of the National People's Congress and inevitably of the Central Government.

666 The Provincial People's Congress is elected indirectly. Its size is determined by: (1) the population of the province; (2) the number of the counties within the province. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the Congresses of all levels, a province with a population not exceeding 20 million shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; a province with a population exceeding 20 million, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties are exceptionally small, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but shall not exceed 600.

Since the members of the Provincial People's Congress are elected, not directly by the people of the province, but indirectly by the counties, the provincial municipalities, towns, and others, the size of the Provincial Congress is governed by a second principle: a county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population between 200,000 and 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a population exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies.

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From the municipalities and towns and the important industrial and mining districts within the provinces, one deputy shall be elected by every 20,000 of the population. Based on the above-mentioned principles, the number of the members of the Provincial Congress as of the Southwest is as follows: Szechwan, 650, plus Sikang, 101; Yunnan, 344; Kweichow, 284.

635 It is important to note the relationship between the provincial government and the provincial congress in their actual work. Usually, the chairman or the governor gives a report on government work, followed by another report on the tasks of the coming year, which announced not only the measures planned by provincial government but also the methods by which the people can fulfill the agricultural and industrial production quotas. As examples, the procedure of the Szechwan and the Yunnan Provincial People's Congresses have been described in the above paragraphs. The procedure of the first Kweichow Provincial People's Congress affords a further illustration.

The first Provincial People's Congress of Kweichow was convened in the period July 22-30, with an attendance of 284 members. Chou Lin, the vice-chairman of Kweichow, made a report on the work of the Kweichow government in the past four years. He pointed out that great improvement had been made in handling the affairs of the minority groups. In the counties where the minorities were 40 per cent of the

635 population, the loan of 11,600,000,000 yuan had been made as rural credit, while cultivating machinery and equipment with a value of some 13,800,000,000 yuan had been distributed. 2,000 party cadres who came from the minority groups were trained, and 674,000 students enrolled in the primary schools. It has always been difficult for the people of Kweichow to obtain salt for cooking because it must be imported from Szechwan and carried by coolies on their shoulders Chou Lin reported that the per capita consumption of salt had risen from 5.7 catties in 1951 to 8.15 catties in 1953. Chou also reported that there were 265,900 mutual aid teams in which 64 per cent of the peasant population were member and that besides the 519 agricultural producers' co-operatives already established, another 5,000 were expected to be added in the spring of 1955. Finally, the Kweichow People's Congress passed a resolution giving full support to the Constitutional draft and elected 26 delegates to the National Congress, of which six were from the minority groups.[10] From the above proceedings of the provincial congresses, it can be seen that policy-making was in the hands of the Governor, while the congress was a mere echoing machine, reflecting the popular response.

The Provincial People's Congress in the constitutional period has the power to elect the Governor, the Deputy-Governors, a number of members of the Provincial People's Council, and the President of the Court.

10. Enlightenment Daily, August 5, 1954.

635 A list of the governors, deputy-governors, presidents of the People's high courts recently elected in the three provinces of the Southwest, is as follows:

A. Szechwan:

Governor -- Li Ta-chang.
Deputy-governors -- Teng Hsi-hou, Yen Hung-yen, Jen Pai-ko, Chung Ti-ch'ien, Yü Chi-t'ang.

Provincial Higher People's Court
President -- name not revealed

B. Sikang (before merging with Szechwan):

Governor -- Liao Chih-kao
Deputy-governors -- Pai Jen, Sana-rygas-shes (Tibetan), K'ang Nai-erh, Chang Wei-chiung, Kuo-chi-mu-ku, Yi Shargur Dobdeng (Tibetan).
P.H.P.C. President -- Liu Ch'ang-chien.

C. Yunnan:

Governor -- Kuo Ying-ch'in
Deputy-governors -- Chang Ch'ung, Liu Tai-feng, Liu Ming-hui, Kung Tzu-chih, Wu Tso-min.
P.H.P.C. President -- Jou Hsing-ts'ai

D. Kweichow:

Governor -- Chou Lin

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635 Deputy-governors -- Chou Su-yüan, Hsü Chien-sheng, Wu Shih, Ou Pai-ch'uan
P.H.P.C. President -- Yeh Ku-lin.

In general, most judicial affairs are handled on the national level. However, the Provincial Congress plays a certain role.

Article 59 of the Constitution, "The People's Congress at county level and above, elect and have power to recall the presidents of People's Courts at corresponding levels," and accordingly is a version of articles 105-09 of the Constitution of the USSR. The jury system, which is provided for in Article 75 of the Communist Constitution, is the first in Chinese history.

Besides the elective presidents of the local courts, another institution which follows the Soviet pattern is the procuratorate. The provincial procurator is not elected, but appointed for four years by the procurator-general in Peking. Each county has a similar official appointed by the provincial procurator with approval of the Procurator-general.

The following paragraphs deal with the governments below the provincial level: the municipal governments, the county governments, and the hsiang or chen governments. The urban population lives in a municipality, while the county and the hsiang or chen consist entirely of rural or half-rural population. However, between the provincial and the county level, there is an agent of the provincial government who inspects the work of the different county governments within the district.

435 The number and the respective names of the municipalities, counties and administrative districts in these three provinces of Southwest China are given as follows:

Political Subdivisions

The political subdivisions of this region, like those of other regions in China, have been modified many times since the Peking regime was established. The latest of these changes is the abolition of Sikang Province and the incorporation of that area into Szechwan Province, approved by the People's Congress in Peking in July 1955. The Ch'ang-tu District, formerly the western half of Sikang Province, had already been merged with the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The following political subdivisions were current in August 1955.

A. Szechwan Province. Capital, Chengtu.

1. Ten municipalities (cities): Chengtu, Tzu-kung, Lu-chou, Wu-t'ung-ch'iao, Nei-chiang, I-pin, Wanhsien, Nan-ch'ung, Ho-ch'uan, Ya-an.

2. Three minority nationality autonomous districts under the direct control of the provincial government:

a) Szechwan Tibetan Autonomous District (District government at Shua-ching-shih), 12 counties: Mou, Wen-ch'uan, Li, Hsiao-chin, Ta-chin, Sung-p'an,

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A-pa, Ssu-t'u, Hei-shui, Nan-p'ing, Jo-erh-kai, Ch'o-ssu-chia.

b) The former Sikang Tibetan Autonomous Chou [11] (Chou administrative office at K'ang-ting), 20 counties: K'ang-ting, Lu-ting, Chiu-lung, Ya-chiang, Ch'ien-ning, Tan-pa, Li-t'ang, Tao-ch'eng, Te-yung, I-tun, Pa-t'ang, Teng-k'o, Te-ko, Kan-tzu, Lu-huo, Tao-fu, Hsin-lung, Pai-yü, Shih-ch'ü.
c) Liang-shan Yi Minority Nationality Autonomous Chou [12] (Chou administrative office at Chao-chüeh), 7 counties: Chao-chüeh, P'u-hsiung, P'u-ko, Hsi-te, Pu-t'o, Mei-ku, Chin-yang.

3. Twelve districts:

a) Wen-chiang (District administrative office at Wen-chiang), 18 counties: Wen-chiang, P'i, Ch'ung-ning, P'eng, Hsin-fan, Hsin-tu, Hua-yang, Shuang-liu, Ta'i, Ch'ung-ch'ing, Kuan, Ch'iung-lai, Hsin-chin, Ming-shan, P'u-chiang, Kuang-han, Chin-t'ang, Shih-fang.
b) Mien-yang (District administrative office at Mien-yang), 15 counties: Mien-yang, Chang-ming, Tsu-t'ung, Lo-chiang, Te-yang, Mien-chu, An, Kuang-yüan, Chao-hua, Wang-ts'ang, Chien-ko, Chiang-yu, Pei-ch'uan, P'ing-wu, Ch'ing-ch'uan.
c) Hsu-ning, P'eng-ch'i, T'ung-nan,

[see following page for 11. and 12.]

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An-yüeh, Lo-chih, Chung-chiang, San-t'ai, She-hung, Yen-t'ing.
d) Han-ch'ung (District administrative office at Yüeh-ch'ih), 11 counties: Yüeh-ch'ih, Wu-sheng, Nan-ch'ung, Hsi-ch'ung, Nan-pu, P'eng-an, Ying-shan, I-lung, Ts'ang-ch'i, Lang-chung, Kuang-an.

e) Ta-hsien (District administrative office at Ta-hsien), 11 counties: Ta, P'ing-ch'ang, Pa-chung, Nan-chiang, T'ung-chiang, Wan-yuan, Hsüan-han, K'ai-chiang, Ta-chu, Ch'ü, Lin-shui.

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11. Chou is a traditional Chinese term for an administrative division. This term was adopted to replace the former designation of "District" at the 1st session of the Second People's Representative Conference of the Tibetan Autonomous District in Sikang, convened at Ya-nan, March 2-6, 1955. There so far has been no information on the name chosen for this chou following the abolition of Sikang Province.

12. This district was renamed "chou" in in April 1955.

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f) Wan-hsien (District administrative office at Wan-hsien municipality), 9 counties: Wan, K'ai, Yün-yang, Ch'eng-k'ou, Wu-ch'i, Wu-shan, Feng-chieh, Chung, Liang-p'ing.
g) Fu-ling (District administrative office at Fu-ling) 11 counties: Fu-ling Ch'ang-shou, Feng-tu, Shih-chu, Ch'ien-chiang, Yu-yang, Hsiu-shan, P'eng-shui, Wu-lung, Nan-ch'uan, Tien-chiang.
h) Chiang-chin (District administrative office at Chiang-chin), 10 counties: Chiang-chin, Yung-ch'uan, Yung-ch'ang, Ta-tsu, T'ung-liang, Ho-ch'uan, Pi-shan, Chiang-pei, Pa, Ch'i-chiang.
i) Lu-chou (District admininstrative office at Lu-chou), 8 counties: Lu, Fu-shun, Lung-ch'ang, Ho-chiang, Na-ch'i, Ku-sung, Hsü-yung, Ku-lin.
j) I-pin (District administrative office at I-pin), 9 counties: I-pin, Nan-ch'i, Chiang-an, Ch'ing-fu, Ch'ang-ning, Hsing-wen, Kung, Kao, Yün-lien.
k) Lo-shan (District administrative office at Lo-shan), 15 counties: Lo-shan, Chia-chiang, Ch'ing-shen, Mei-shan, P'eng-shan, Hung-ya, Tan-ling, Ching-yen, Ch'ien-wei, Mu-ch'uan, P'in-shan, Lei-po, Ma-pien, O-pien, O-mei.
l) Nei-chiang (District administrative office at Nei-chiang), 7 counties: Nei-chiang, Wei-yüan, Yung, Jen-shou, Chien-yang, Tzu-yang, Tzu-chung.

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m) Ya-an (District administrative office at Ya-an), 7 counties: Ya-an, Yung-ching, Han-yüan, Shih-mien, T'ien-ch'üan, Pao-hsing, Lu-shan.
n) Hsi-ch'ang (District administrative office at Hsi-ch'ang), 11 counties: Hsi-ch'ang, Ning-nan, Te-ch'ang, Hui-li, Hui-tung, Yen-pien, Mien-ming, Yüeh-sui (pronounced Yüeh-chün locally), Mi-i, Chin-k'uang, Yen-yüan; one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict; the Mu-li Tibetan Autonomous Subdistrict.

B. Yunnan Province. Capital, Kunming

1. Two municipalities (cities): Kungming, Ko-chiu

2. One mining district under the direct control of the provincial government: the Tung-ch'uan Mining District.

3. Eleven districts

a) Chao-t'ung (District administrative office at Chao-t'ung), 11 counties: Ta-kuan, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Wei-hsin, Chen-hsiung, I-liang, Lu-tien, Ch'iao-chia, Yung-shan, Hui-tse, Chao-t'ung.
b) Ch'ü-ching (District administrative office at Ch'ü-ching), 13 counties: Ch'ü-ching, Chan-i, Yung-feng, Fu-yüan Ma-lung, Sung-ming, Hsün-tien, I-liang,

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Lu-liang, Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Lu-hsi, Lu-nan.

c) Wen-shan (District administrative office at Wen-shan) one municipality: Ma-li-p'o Municipality; 7 counties: Wen-shan, Yen-shan, Ch'iu-pei, Kuang-nan, Fu-ning, Hsi-ch'ou, Ma-kuan.

d) Meng-tzu (District administrative office at Meng-tzu), one municipality: Ho-k'ou Municipality; 7 counties: Meng-tzu, P'in-pien, Shih-p'in, Chien-shui, the county level: the Mi-lo-hsien Yi Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

e) Yü-ch'i (District administrative office at Yü-ch'i, K'un-yang, Chin-ning, Ch'eng-kung, Ch'eng-chiang, Chiang-ch'uan, Hua-ning, T'ung-hai, Ho'hsi, Hsin'p'ing, I-men, Yuan-chiang; one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: The O-shan-hsien Yi Minority Autonomous subdistrict.

f) Ssu-mao (District administrative office at P'u-erh), 7 counties: Ssu-mao, P'u-erh, Ching-tung, Mo-chiang, Lan-ts'ang, Ching' ku, Chen-yüan ; 3 minority nationality autnomous subdistricts at the county level: the Lang-ts'ang Lahu Minority Autonomous Subdistrict, the Meng-lien-hsien, T'ai, Lahu, and K'awa Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict, the Chiang-ch'eng-hsien Hani and Yi Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict.

g) Lin-ts'ang (District administrative office at Lin-ts'ang), 5 counties: Lin-ts'ang, Shuang-chiang, Ts'ang-yüan,

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Keng-ma, Chen-k'ang .

h) Pao-shan (District administrative office at Pao-shan), 4 counties: Pao-shan, Ch'ang'ning, T'eng-ch'ung, Lung-ling; one town: Wan-ting.

i) Ta-li (District administrative office at Hsia-kuan), 13 counties: Ta-li, Teng-ch'uan, Pin-ch'uan, Hsiang-yün, Feng-i, Mi-tu, Wei-shan, Yün, Feng-ch'ing, Yung-p'ing, Yang-pi, Yün-lung, Erh-yüan.

j) Li-chiang (District administrative office at Li-chiang), 9 counties: Li-chiang, Yung-sheng, Ho-ch'ing, Chien-ch'uan, Lan-p'ing, Wei-hsi, Chung-tien, Hua-p'ing, Ning-lang: one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: the Te-ch'in-hsien Tibetan Autonomous Subdistrict.

k) Ch'u-hsiung (District administrative office at Ch'u-hsiung), 17 counties: Ch'u-hsiung, Mu-ting, Yen-hsing, Kuang-t'ung, Lu-feng, Shuang-po, Nan-hua, Yao-an, Yen-feng, Ta-yao, Yung-jen, Wu-ting , Lu-ch'üan , Fu-min, An-ning, Lo-tz''u, Yüan-mou.

l) Hsishuang Panna T'ai Minority Autonomous District (District administrative office at Yungchinghung), 12 Baan Naa (Panna, or Baan Naa -- "Land" in the Yi language. Baan Naa and an autonomous subdistrict have the equivalent status of "subdistrict"): Yung-ching-hung, Meng-hai, Meng-wang, I-wu, Meng-na, Meng-h'un, Meng-che, Meng-yang, Meng-la, Meng-lung, Meng-wang, Man-tun;

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two minority nationality autonomous subdistricts: the Kelang and Hani Minorities Autonomous Subdistrict and the Pailang Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

m) The Tehung, T'ai and Ching-p'o Minority Nationalities Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Mang-shih), 6 counties: Lu-hsi, Jui-li, Lung-ch'uan, Ying-chiang, Lien-shan, Liang-ho.

n) The Hung-ho Hani Minority Nationality Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Hsin-chieh), 3 counties: Hung-ho Yüan-yang, Chin-p'ing.

o) The Nu-chiang Lisu Minority Nationality Autonomous District (Autonomous People's Government at Chih-tzu-lo), 4 counties: Pi-chiang, Kung-shan, Fu-kung, Lu-shui.

C. Kweichow Province. Capital, Kweiyang Municipality.

1. One municipality (city): Kweiyang Municipality

2. One county under the direct control of the provincial government: Kuei-chu hsien.

3. Eight Districts:

a) Kuei-ting (District administrative office at Kuei-ting), 9 counties: Kuei-

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ting, Weng-an, K'ai-yang, Hsi-feng, Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Lung-li, Ch-ang-shun, Lo-tien; one autonomous subdistrict: The Hui-shui-hsien Pu-i Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

b) Tsun-i (District administrative office at Tsun-i),one municipality: Tsun-i Municipality; 11 counties: Tsun-i, Jen-huai, Ch'ih-shui, Hsi-shui, T'ung-tzu, Sui-yang, Cheng-an, Tao-chen, Wu-ch'uan, Feng-kang, Mei-t'an.

c) T'ung-jen (District administrative office at T'ung-jen), 9 counties: T'ung-jen, Sung-t'ao, Yen-ho,Te-chiang, Ssu-nan, Ying-chiang, Shih-ch'ien, Chiang-k'ou, Yü-p'in.

d) Chen-yüan (District administrative office at Chen-yüan), 10 counties: Chen-yüan, Ts'en-kung, San-sui, T'ien-chu, Chin-p'in, Chien-ho, Lei-shan, Huang-p'ing, Shih-ping, Yü-ch'ing; 2 minority nationality autonomous subdistricts: the Lü-shan-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict, the T'ai-chiang-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

e) Tu-yün (District administrative office at Tu-yün), 10 counties: Tu-yün, Ma-chiang, Fu-ch'üan, San-tu, Yung-chiang, Li-p'ing, Ts'ung-chiang, Li-po, Tu-shan, P'ing-t'ang; one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict: the Tan-chai-hsien Miao Minority Autonomous Subdistrict.

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f) Hsing-i (District administrative office at Hsing-i), 10 counties: Hsing-i, P'an, P'u-an, Ch'ing-lung, Hsing-jen, Kuan-jen, Kuan-ling, Chen-feng, Wang-mu, Ts'e-heng, An-lung.

g) An-shun (District administrative office at An-shun), 6 counties: An-shun, Tzu-yün, Chen-ning, Lang-tai, P'u-ting, P'ing-pa.

h) Pi-chieh (District administrative office at Pi-chieh), 9 counties: Pi-chieh, Ta-ting, Chin-sha, Ch'ien-hsi, Chih-chin, Na-yung, Shui-ch'eng, Wei-ning, Ho-chang.

In examining the nature and functions of local governments from the Municipality down to the county and hsiang level, it is found that since the Communist regime, there has been a radical change. While a laissez-faire policy characterized under the Republic and Kuomintang period the political scene, now the Communists put stesss on organizing people of every municipality, county, or hsiang, and each individual is under surveillance.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE MUNICIPALITY, COUNTY, AND HSIANG

A. The Municipality

633 The Communist regime pays a great deal of attention to city life, because industrial enter-

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361 the walls is fairly well filled with houses and contains some 600 or 700.

511 The whole town and district[1] are very poor, a fact to which the broken bridges and unrepaired roads testify. There does not seem to be a single merchant of any importance in the place, and mules and ponies are scarce. In fact there appears to be absolutely no trade in the district except in the necessaries of life, and the whole way from Ta-li to Shun-ning we did not meet a single mule caravan, or even a pedlar on foot.

The city magistrate came to see me in the evening and was very civil. He was a Chiang-hsi man and much more inclined to be obliging than the majority of Chinese officials. I halted a day at Shun-ning and went to call on the mandarins. The magistrate had never heard of Kun-long himself, but he got out his map and sent for men who knew the country, and did his best to help me. It appears there are two roads, one through Chên-k'ang (Möng Cheng), and the other through Yün Chou and Mien-ning T'ing. The former was said to be the shorter, but is hilly and difficult. The Yün Chou route seemed to offer the best prospect of a possible railway line or trade route, so I decided to go by it.

712 There is only a very small garrison at Shun-ning. It was then commanded by an old white-moustached gentleman of 60, who had, however, only attained the rank of *Shou-pi* or lieutenant. So promotion is sometimes slow in the Chinese army. The military head-quarters of the Shun-ning district is at Mien-ning T'ing where there is a *Hsieh-t'ai* or colonel.

635 Shun-ning was originally a Shan state, and it is still known to Shans by its original name of Möng Hköng. It has now for a long time been a Chinese district, but the Shan or half Shan origin of the people is plainly visible in their features. So much like Shans did some of them appear to me that I stopped one man on the road and asked him if he was not a Shan, but he did not take it at all as a compliment, and his companions were much amused at the question.

000 One day at Shun-ning was quite enough, and I was glad to get out of the miserable one-storied inn in which we

[1] [Shun-ning -- Analyst]

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000 were lodged. Two days of easy marching down the valley of the Pei-ch'iao Ho brought us to Yün Chou. Though this town is 1,600 feet below Shun-ning, the descent is so gradual as to be hardly noticed. At the end of the second march the road passes through a gap in a spur and comes suddenly on the town, within 100 yards.

361 438 It is built at the junction of the Pei-ch'iao Ho with the Nan-ch'iao Ho, a somewhat larger stream which runs up from the south and eventually flows into the Mekong. The town is surrounded by a soft brick wall, 12 feet high, not kept in very good repair. It contains about 800 houses, and is a larger and more prosperous place than Shun-ning. The population includes a good many Panthays and they form the principal commercial element. The trade is not very large and is almost entirely confined to dealings with the Shan States of Mêng-sa, Kêng-ma, and Mêng-ting, and with the Panthay settlement at Pang-long in the Northern Shan States.

214 438 One of the principal articles of local produce is a curious kind of waterproof coat called *tso-yi*, much used by the poorer classes in Yün-nan. It is made out of the outer fibrous bark of a sort of palm tree, called *tsung-pao* by the Chinese. At the first glance it might easily be taken for the skin of some long-haired animal.

635 Yün Chou, like Shun-ning, was formerly a Shan state. Its Shan name is Möng Yü, and there are still a few families of that race living in the plain. The Yün Chou 241 plain is much cut up by uncultivated spurs which run out into it, but good crops of beans and sugar-cane are grown. The latter is a specially valuable product in Yün-nan, as it will not grow in the higher and colder plains.

231 On the march from Shun-ning, at the village of Jê-shui-t'ang, I saw a most curious freak of nature, a buffalo with five horns. Two of them were of the ordinary pattern, the other three grew out of the centre of his forehead, two going straight up in the air close together, and the third sticking straight out to the front. The three superfluous horns had been sawn off rather short, but there was no doubt about the fact that they were there.

000 We left Yün Chou again on the 18th February and ascended gradually, reaching the Mekong-Salween water-